or a girl who has just returned from Chipwete must not touch the child, as it is said, "the baby is hot and would give fever to the child." To guard against such a happening, some "clean" woman, after handing some beads to the mother, will ask to be allowed to take the infant. This indicates that should it sicken, the beads will pay the medicine-woman who comes to cure it. The mother and baby are simply washed in water and are not treated with medicine, unless menstruation has been visited before the child was delivered.[1] If the infant dies before it is presented to the outside world, it is disposed of in the same way as a stillborn child, i.e. buried in the sub-house. About the tenth day, the baby is adorned with a girdle of beads and two little pieces of stick obtained from a medicine-woman to make the infant grow fat.

The length of time during which the father and mother refrain from cohabitation after the birth of a baby varies greatly according to circumstances. Four months is probably a minimum, while two years, during which the woman suckles the child, is the common interval. After the first ordeal, the man and woman wash themselves and the baby is bathed in the same water to prevent any ill coming to it.

Suckling often continues much longer than two years. If the mother dies, the child may be suckled by the grandmother, an aunt, or some other woman, but the breasts must first be treated with medicine or the child would die.

A child born breech first is called *mbongo*, a word which is also used to denote a variety of domestic fowl which always has the appearance of having its feathers ruffled. A child who dies before the father and mother have removed sexual relations is buried in a grave-yard apart from that of adults. The grave, dug with sticks, not hoes, is very shallow, and when it is filled in, a heap of stones is made above it. Only women attend the burial. A deep grave would cause the mother to go on losing children at an early age. The body of such a child is called *tinono*, "hyaena."

A woman dying undelivered is placed in the grave in the usual way and then, before filling in the earth, one of the grave-diggers descends into the pit, rents through the membranes covered, and incises the abdomen. One end of a long bamboo stick or reed is inserted in the incision and the other end is brought out to the surface of the grave. If this were not done, "many would die in childbirth."

Twins are not killed by the Tao but are well treated and always cared for equally. They are given similar clothing and food.[2] There is a story that the mother of Nkwanzika,

[1] Chipwete, vide infra, p. 240.

[2] Cf. A. Werner, "Among the Congo Cannibals, by John H. Weeks, London, 1913: a review," (Man, vol. 13, no. 10, 1913, p. 22).

I take this opportunity of referring to Miss Werner's review in which, speaking of twins, she says, "They are always among the legends given the names *Mupoli* and *Kyanza*." *Mupoli* in Chinyanja refers to a kind of musical instrument and the Chipwe meaning is "monument-poles." *Kyanza* is a Chipwe word which certainly means "the bush." It is doubtless used of the second born twin but does not occur in Chinyanja. I have never heard of twins either among the Wyao or the Anyanja spoken of by these women. A mother carries the first born on the right arm and the second born on the left, but, as far as I know, she does not give a duplicate greeting nor make a habit of acting equally with both hands.

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believe that she will die. The man's representatives are therefore able to establish the child's paternity from the birth-pang confessions of the woman.

The child is kept in the hut where it was born, for six or seven days, while the umbilical cord dries and falls off. During this time (*lauli*) the child is unnamed, and it is named only when it is taken out of the hut. Should it die during this period of seclusion it remains unnamed and is referred to by a special term (*ilinya*, pl. *matyu*). I have therefore been able to enumerate live births by means of the distinction made between miscarriages and still-births (*kwasuga*) and children who lived long enough to be referred to as *matyu*. After the birth of the child the woman may not have intercourse for four or five months. To do so would be to endanger the life of the child with a disease called *ndeka*,[1] which is contracted by a sexually inactive person when he comes into contact with a sexually active person. The husband may have intercourse with a second wife, but must take care to medicate himself so that he does not endanger the life of his child. When the child is about 4 or 5 months of age the parents perform ritual intercourse and medicate the child against the mystical dangers of sexual activity; sexual relations are then resumed.

The Yao say that a second child should not be born while the first is still being suckled. Since lactation continues for about two years I am uncertain whether monogynists remain continent, as they say they do, or whether *coitus interruptus* is practised. It is quite usual for husbands to become labour migrants when their children are still very young. I have known women to write to their husbands who are away working and tell them to return because their children have 'grown', i.e. have been weaned. Labour recruiters had difficulty in recruiting men immediately after the soldiers had been demobilized at the end of the war, because the women objected, saying that they had remained childless long enough and the men must first wait until children were born. However, actual examination of birth-dates shows that children are sometimes born within a year of one another and sometimes there are quite big gaps. The two-year gap between children is probably an ideal which few attain.

3. The Estimation of Fertility

(a) *Sundbarg's Age Divisions*

As a preliminary estimate of fertility, Sundbarg's trichotomy of ages may be considered. The argument behind this division of the population into Youth, Middle Age, and Old Age is that those populations with a high proportion of youth have a greater tendency to increase. Table V shows this trichotomy for the Yao with the same material for some other populations shown for comparison. Where the gross reproduction-rate is known for the period shown in the table, this is included.

At any one time a certain proportion of the population is absent from the area, usually at some labour centre. Hence the proportions of the population are distributed abnormally. In all there appeared to be a total of sixty-three men, women, and children absent from the hamlets, who would otherwise have been living there. Hence in Table V these have been included in the totals in the 'Yao with absentees' proportions.

[1] A disease of this sort is believed in by many Central African tribes. Among the Nyanja-speaking peoples it is known as *chinyau*.